HERALD OF FREEDOM.

"I enter into no compromise with Slavery. I am for Justice, in the name of Humanity, and according to the Law of the Living God."

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ANTI-SLAVERY.

Speech of Daniel O'Connell,

At the late Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at Exeter Hall, London.

Mr. O'CONNELL was then introduced to the meeting, and received with enthusiastic and protracted cheering. He said—I have a long resolution, Sir, to propose, and I ought to make compensation for the length of the resolution by the shortness of my speech, although I never felt more disposed to make a long one—(Hear, hear, and laughter.) Upon the subject of which we are combined there is much to rejoice at—much to congratulate ourselves upon—a good deal to apprehend—and enormous mischief still remaining to be remedied and redressed.—(Hear, hear.) We have a good deal to congratulate ourselves upon. We have to congratulate England, in the face of the world, in having set that mighty and magnificent example of the emancipation of nearly one million of human beings, and having consented, in addition, gratuitously to compensate those who were not entitled to any compensation—(Hear, hear)—entitled to no compensation, but punishment for long and atrocious villainy.—(Hear, hear, and laughter.) I voted against that compensation—(Hear, hear)—but I should not be sorry it was granted if I saw a reciprocal spirit of kindliness and benevolence on the part of those who received it. It is, sir, a mighty and a magnificent example we have given, and it tells well to the rest of the world in its immediate results; for what were we told when we were struggling for the emancipation of the negroes? Did not the planters assert, the moment they were emancipated, violence, turbulence, slaughter, and massacre would be the consequence?—(Hear, hear.) Did not they say—"Do you want us to have our throats cut? It is not whether we shall let the negroes loose, but whether they shall outrage our wives and daughters, and slaughter ourselves." What do they say now?—(Hear, hear.) Has there been one single riot?—(Hear, hear.) Has there been one single outrage?—(Hear, hear.) Has there been one single assault?—(Hear, hear.) Has any thing approached to spoilation of property, or to the murder of a single human being, been committed? Humble as I am, I stand here the triumphant advocate of the negro race.—(Loud cheers.) The negroes have much to forgive. Even the planters of Jamaica, boasting of their high spirit as English gentlemen, still keep the lash to the female negro's back to the very last moment.—(Hear, hear, and "Shame.")—Even the chivalry of their character as gentlemen would not let them relax the power of torture even to that sex whom they said they respected.—(Hear, hear.) The negro had much to forgive. He had to forgive the cruelty to his wife—the horrible treatment of his daughter—the torture of his son. He had to forgive the stripes that were still marked on his back by the lash of his tyrant master. Did he take revenge? No; blessed be God, he forgave all.—(Tremendous cheering.) And here I stand, proudly boasting that even the spirit of calumny itself—the disposition to tell falsehoods of every body who differ from us—a disposition that I think is as much encouraged in England as in any other land on the face of the earth—notwithstanding that disposition to slander and vituperation, no slanderer has been found, no calumniator has been discovered, vile and base enough to say the negroes have committed one single act of outrage, violence, or revenge. May we not then look to the rest of the world and tell them how easily and how safely emancipation can take place?—(Cheers.) Indeed it would have been a calumny on human nature to assert that it was quite safe to continue injustice—that it was perfectly secure to continue to outrage every human feeling, and that an act of benevolence and generosity would be accompanied by a return of crime and outrage. (Hear.) It could not be—it has not been. (Cheers.) Human nature has vindicated itself from such a charge—and we stand here now with the fact as clear as the sun at noon day, that emancipation has not been followed by one single act of outrage. (Cheers.)

But these general assertions are weak, and do not bear the same force as when you come to particular instances. Now there happens to be in this assembly a friend of mine, and I am proud to call him such—the Rev. Mr. Knibb, the Baptist missionary.—(Loud cheers.) You do well to cheer him, he deserves it—(Renewed cheers.) He has suffered imprisonment and the fetter—he has had execution threatened upon him—he has undergone persecution, and now he comes out triumphantly, the friend and the advocate of the unfortunate negro. (Cheers.) I take from him these facts. In the district of Montego Bay, the population of which is upwards of 125,000 beings, at the last Assize there were in gaol 19 persons charged with offences—

Mr. KNIBB—Only 16

Mr. O'CONNELL—Only 16!—(Cheers)—and six of these were whites!—(Great laughter.) Now the negroes are in the proportion of fifty to one, and therefore you may imagine what the proportion of guilt between the white and the black man is when out of 16 in gaol six are whites. Well, out of the 16, 13 were acquitted so that there remained but three actual criminals. (Cheers.) In his own parish, where the population is 35,000, there was only one prisoner in three months. (Hear, hear.) In St. Ann's parish, with a large population, the gaol is shut up, and the key has been turned into nails for shoeing horses.—(Great laughter.) The treadmill, to be sure, was seen there, but the treadmill got rusty. (Renewed laughter.)—In the parish of Trelawney, that which Mr. Knibb belongs to, where the treadmill was actually clotted with human gore—where women were tied on that treadmill, and becoming so exhausted they were not able to keep their steps, and the flesh was torn off their limbs—the brutal planter permitted it to be done—

Mr. Knibb—I have seen it.

Mr. O'Connell—The treadmill has got rusty there—there have not been a sufficient number of persons to turn it. (Loud cheers.) In St. Ann's the gaol is shut up, and in Westmoreland the gaol has fallen into ruins.

Now these isolated facts strike more strongly upon the human mind than hours of declamation and general assertion. (Hear, hear.) I stand here triumphantly then with this great experiment completely worked out, that it is perfectly safe to emancipate the negro race. (Cheers.) But have we not something to fear from the planter? (Hear, hear.) I cannot leave Jamaica without announcing to you that in the last Session of the Legislature of that country, abominable slavery laws were passed amid the congratulations of Sir Charles Metcalf—(Hisses)—who, with a fatal facility, has given in to the views of the planters, and given up that generous protection which my esteemed and admired friend—how proud I am to call him so—Sir Lionel Smith showed—(Loud cheers.) I need allude only to one of them. They have passed a combination law—a law to punish the men from combining to get wages. (Hear.) No three negroes can now meet to regulate how much they ought to get for their wages without being subject to this combination law. To be sure they have, by an atrocious kind of idiosyncrasy, made this law apply to master as well as servants. (Laughter.) It is mixing the ridiculous with the horrible. Who is to punish the master. (Hear, hear, and laughter)—when there will be found on the bench the ruffian that ought to be in the dock?—(Cheers.) As yet those laws have not received the Royal Assent in this country, and by the blessing of God, the name of our Queen will never be subscribed to them.—[Tremendous cheering.] I know they are in operation in the meantime, that is the worst of it: and therefore no time should be lost in calling on the Secretary for the Colonies, and remonstrating with him upon the subject. I myself asked him the question whether these laws had received the Royal Assent. He said they had not. When I asked how many of them had been suspended, he was not then prepared to give me an answer, but I think we should ask him again—[Cheering]—for although they are as it has been said, in force in that country, would not the people of England be laughed at from one end of Europe to the other, if, after paying twenty millions of money, twelve or fourteen of which went to this very colony, they were to allow themselves to be swindled out of its value by these combination laws? [Cheers.] John Bull likes to get the full lumping value for his penny, and, therefore, I do not think the British people will allow themselves to be so cheated. [Cheers.] It is incumbent on us to take care we are not laughed at—nobody likes to be—[Laughter]—to take care the public are not swindled of their money, and to take care above all that the negro is not sent back, under the shape of laws, to a state of servitude worse than the slavery he before endured. [Hear, hear.] The planters say they only want to be protected in free labor. But what claim have they for any assistance from the British people or government, if instead of free labor they have taken care it shall be slave labor as soon as the emigrants arrive?

These are subjects of the utmost importance, and glad am I to have the opportunity of proclaiming them to the good sense of the English people. The night before last we saved the Hill Coolies—[Cheers]—and it will be our duty within eight-and-forty hours more to save the colored man in Jamaica from renewed slavery. [Cheers.)

There is another portion of the British dominions where slavery still spreads its horrid influence. We were told, Sir, when the Emancipation Bill passed that the Government of the East Indies would take measures to abolish slavery there. I believe they have taken none—I know of none—it may be my ignorance; but this I know, that there are hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands of slaves still in our East Indian dominions, and when we proudly boast that the flag of our Queen waves over none but freemen, we are obliged to make a distinction which has no difference, for the flag of the East India Company waves over hundreds and thousands of slaves.—[Hear, hear, hear,] The object of the Convention—the object of this meeting, cannot be answered until slavery is abolished in the East Indies as it has been in the West. [Hear, hear, hear.] And wherever the flag of England flutters in the breeze, over any part of the dominions in the dependencies belonging to the Monarch of these realms, it shall float only over freemen, and nothing but freedom shall be found beneath its influence or within its protection.—[Cheers.]

There is, indeed, connected with India, another subject of most awful importance, but it is not fitted for an anti-slavery meeting. I only allude to it, because I think the friends of humanity will endeavor to remedy the evil—I mean the situation of the land tenures in India—(Hear, hear)—and the poverty and distress, and the awfully rapid famines (for we have had four of them in ten years) they create. If we look to other countries, what are our consolations. We have heard an able and eloquent French advocate of universal liberty, and I am sorry he was not able to express himself in the English language. Had he done so he would have made an impression such as few are capable of. His sentiments were excellent and he has long been a distinguished friend of the negro race in his own country. But, Sir, I was very sorry to hear from him what they were going to do. To be sure they had already made a law that their masters are not to mutilate them.—Why it is not the interest of the master exactly to mutilate the negroes. (Hear, hear.) I was sorry to hear him talk of the French probably postponing, for ten or twenty years, the emancipation of the negroes—it is like what the Latinists call *paulo post futurum*—(Laughter)—the prison counts by the hour, slavery reasons by the minute.—(Cheers.) Talk not to me of regulations, and rules, and laws; commit them to the hands of the planters and masters, it is no matter what the law is, the parties will inflict punishment and suffering on the unfortunate negro. (Hear, hear.) It has been well said that there is no nation on the face of the earth so fond of liberty as the French. It may be a little exaggeration, and not quite so satisfactory to humanity as to military triumph, but the French having acknowledged that slavery ought to terminate—that principle being at once avowed, and England having set them the example, I would like to encourage the old rivalry between England and France on this topic.—While Frenchmen are talking of emancipation, and talking in beautiful phraseology of doing such and such things, that they *intend* to do it, and are *about* to do it, John Bull has actually emancipated them, Mr. Frenchman—[Great laughter]—and that is the thing you ought to do. [Cheers.] I do not wish to discourage them, but I laugh to scorn their efforts. I despise their exertions if they attempt any thing but total and immediate emancipation. [Cheers.] That is the only rivalry except, in other good qualities, that I would wish to exist between the two great nations of the world.

But we must cast our eyes further, and what do we there find? Why, countries bound by the faith of treaties, observing none of those treaties, for I am reluctantly, but by the force of truth, compelled here to declare, that this mighty sacrifice of twenty millions, this great and glorious act of emancipation of 800,000 slaves, has been followed, by what? By a most atrocious and enormous augmentation of the worst of crimes attending slavery—the slave trade. The importation has been more than doubled, the debis have been increased 25 per cent. The result of our having emancipated slaves made the produce of the slave colonies more valuable, and the consequence has been, that the slave trade has increased enormously. All produce of course is lessened. If it diminished from nothing else, it would from the circumstance that the negroes no longer suffered their women to labor in the field. [Hear, hear.] [Mr. Joseph Sturge here made a communication to Mr. O'Connell.] My phrase perhaps was not quite correct. The increase of the slave trade did not commence with the abolition of slavery—it commenced with the abolition by England of the slave trade; but it has dreadfully augmented since the period when the English abolished slavery. (Hear, hear.) We have treated with the Brazils, with Spain, with Portugal. The treaties are fine pieces of parchment to look at, emblazoned with the arms of monarchs; but in the mines of Brazil, for instance, a great quantity of British capital is employed, and there are British slaveholders surrounding us to the present moment. We have them in the House of Commons. It was only this morning that I heard something of the great friends of the Mauritius. I am now in possession of the fact; and if any of them speak again in another place, depend upon it I shall not be so mealy-mouthed as not to announce it. (Cheers.) In proportion as we have acted with humanity, other nations are acting with barbarity. In Baltimore it is the fashion to build vessels called "clippers;" they are used for carrying on the slave trade, and they are made shallow in order to get up the rivers, and to sail with greatest speed.

He then came to the Texas—that nest of banditti. The Mexican Government had nobly done away with slavery—It nowhere existed in that country. All at once a band of land pirates took their slaves and rifles and robbed the Mexicans of their land. He blushed to say that the King of the French had at last acknowledged those robbers as a nation. He was sorry that the talented individual who had been amongst them—the representative of France, had retired; he (Mr. O'Connell) would have been happy that he had had it in his power to tell him of that act of his King. It was useless to talk of or to hope for the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, while the King of France encouraged wholesale robbery, murder, and slavery in the Texas. By the constitution of the country they had debarred themselves from even discussing abolition for a number of years, and even when they had expired, it could not be done unless three fourths of the people were in favor of it. They might just as well hope to get three fourths of the people to cut their throats as to agree to annihilate slavery.—[Laughter.] Another principle of their constitution was, that they would cut the throats of every Indian in the territory—they would not allow one of the aborigines to remain alive in the land. Only lately six or seven of them had come in, had been caught, and every one of them was murdered, brutally murdered; he was informed that he was much underating the case—that in fact the murders amounted to 30—that would entail more human suffering, but the principle was the same. He was informed that they had now twelve British subjects in slavery. Was it, could it be possible?—There was no country in the world paid half so much for being governed as England—[Cheers]—they paid million after million, but did any government deserve a farthing that would permit British subjects to remain in slavery. [Cheers.] Could it be a fact? If the atrocious crime was in existence, were not the Texians at the mercy of England. Suppose they were to send to the Mexicans a British Legion, the Texians would be apt to surrender the twelve, and twice twelve if they had them. [Mr. Joseph Sturge whispered to him.] A friend of peace behind him, an illustrious friend of humanity—(Cheers)—Joseph Sturge, had told him that the Society recommended the use of none but peaceful, and moral, and religious means. He [Mr. O'Connell] quite agreed in all that, but the Texians were robbers—they had stolen twelve of our fellow-subjects, and it was quite legal to catch and hang robbers and murderers. They had been guilty of an atrocious robbery and many murders—they must therefore be treated as such. But, above all, that meeting and that society must speak out trumpet-tongued, in order to deter the British Government from committing so foul a crime as to recognise them as a nation. Let the Government of Europe acknowledge one slaveholding state, and all would be overrun, and slavery would acquire a fearful increase. Oh, God forbid that they should ever be admitted into the scale of nations.

He then came to North America, and there, thank God, he found much reason for congratulation. There were now forty representatives of Abolition Societies in London to aid them in the great struggle for human liberty. [Cheers.] They had heard a learned and able Judge describe the horrors of the internal slave trade of North America. (Cheers.) Did they know who that learned and noble man was? He had been the proprietor of slaves himself, but he had given them all their liberty. (Loud and continued cheers.) They had interupted him. He not only did that, but a second batch came into his possession by patrimonial descent. He was again the proprietor of slaves, but he emancipated them. (Cheers.) American abolitionists might indeed be proud with Judge Birney, of New York, at their head. Let them be honored in proportion as the slaveholders were execrated.—Oh! they had a hard battle to fight. In place of being honored, as they were in this land, they had to encounter rudeness and outrage; the Bowie knife and Lynch law threatened them: they were abolitionists at the risk of their lives. (Cheers.) Glory to them. A year or two since he made some observations upon the conduct of the American Minister; he charged him with breeding slaves for sale; he denied it; and, in order to prove who was right, he sent him (Mr. O'Connell) a challenge to fight a duel. (Laughter.) He did not accept it. Nothing would ever induce him to commit murder. God had forbidden it, and he would obey him. (Cheers.) The American Minister denied the charge, but he admitted that he had slaves, and he admitted that he did advertise to sell some; so let him have the benefit of such a denial. (A laugh.) He added, however, that he did not believe that slaves were bred for sale in Virginia.—Now, he would read some few extracts from Judge Jay's book, published in New York, in 1839. He would call Mr. Stevenson's attention to page 88 of that book, and that would prove to him not only that slave-breeding existed in Virginia, but within twenty-five miles of his own residence.—(The Hon. gentleman read several extracts proving the practice; also several advertisements of lots of slaves wanted for ready money, for shipment to New Orleans, and one dated in Richmond, the very place of Mr. Stevenson's residence.) He had established against the Ambassador that slave-raising did exist in Virginia—yet all these things took place in a civilized country—a civilized age—advertisements of human flesh for sale, and written in even a more contemptuous manner than if the subject of them were cattle. The traffic in slaves from the North to the Southern States was immense. In the latter they were put to the culture of cotton—a horrible culture, that swept off the whole in seven years—every seven years there was a new generation wanted. This was in a community calling themselves civilized—why, they were worse than the savage beast of the desert—they only mangled when driven to it by hunger; but this horrible practice is carried on by well-fed Americans for paltry pecuniary profit—for that low and base consideration they destroy annually their tens and twenty thousands. His learned friend the Judge had put two attested cases in his hands—(Mr. O'Connell then read the particulars; in one the slave and her mistress were communicants in one congregation, yet the latter determined, and notwithstanding the most heart-rending appeals, persisted in selling and separating the child of the slave from its mother. The other was a slave who, with her eight children were brought into the open market, and sold separately, amidst the loudest lamentations.) The mother there had to suffer eight deaths, and when she was parted from the last, her youngest, her senses fled, and she was happy for a time. These scenes took place in a country which, in all other respects, had a fair claim to be called civilized—in a country which had nobly worked out its own freedom—in a country where the men were brave and the women beautiful. Amongst the descendants of Englishmen—even amongst such was to be found a horrible population whose thirst for gold could only be gratified at the expense of such scenes of human suffering. A population that were insensible to the wrath of God, who were insensible to the cries and screams of mothers and children torn from each other for ever; but there was one thing they would not be insensible to—they dare not, they would not be insensible to the contempt of Europe. (Loud cheers.) While they embraced the American abolitionists as friends and brothers—let none of the slave-owners, dealers in human flesh, dare to set a foot upon our free soil. (Cheering.) Let them call upon the government to protest to America that they would not recieve any slave-holding Ambassador. (Loud cheering.) Let them declare that no slave-owner can be admitted into European society, and then Calhoun and Clay, and men like them, who stand up putting forth their claims to be President of the great Republic must yield to public, universal opinion. He had made mention of two men—he would only say that Calhoun was branded with the blood issuing from the stripes of the slave, and Clay, drowned in the tears of the mothers and the children. (Cheers.) Let the people of Europe say to slave-owners, "Murderers, you belong not to us,—away to the desert and herd with kindred savages." (Cheers.) He begged pardon of the savages. (Laughter.) Sometimes in anger he committed heinous crimes, but he was incapable of coolly calculating how long or how hard he could work a human being with a profit,—sometimes granting him a boon for the purpose of obtaining a year or two's more labor out of him. The Hon. gentleman continued—I admire the purity of the democratic principle, when it is kept within the proper bounds of society. I am a great admirer of your Declaration of Independence; it is the delight of even the slave-holders of America. Let me read to you the first few lines. It says, "All are created equal." These are their own words,—"All are created equal, with certain inalienable rights,—the gift of God." They acknowledge the Giver; and amongst these inalienable rights are, "Life, liberty, and the safe pursuit of happiness." Therefore they proclaim it—they admit that God has given these rights, and how dare the ruffians attempt to take away the rights which God has given? (Cheers and laughter.) Is that word too harsh? (No, no!)—"And in the fair spirit of the Declaration, with a reliance on the firm protection of Divine Providence." They appeal to God: and has not this all the sanctity without the profanity of an oath?—"we mutually pledge to each other our hearts, our fortunes"—they might easily pledge that—"our lives and our sacred honors." (Hear.) Now I appeal to that honor—they have pledged their lives and their sacred honor to those principles, and when they come to me and say that I am a vituperator and a slanderer, I read to them their Declaration, their pledge, and their honors. (Loud cheers.) Well, are we to remain passive as hitherto? (Loud cries of "No, no!") Let our declaration also go abroad. Let this Society adopt it—let the benevolence and good sense of Englishmen make that declaration. If an American addresses you, find out at once if he be a slaveholder. (Hear, hear.) He may have business with you, and the less you do with him the better—(A laugh)—but the moment that is over turn from him as if he had the cholera or the plague—[Cheers]—for there is a moral cholera and a political plague upon him. (Cheers.) He belongs not to your country or your clime—he is not within the pale of civilization or Christianity. (Cheers.) Let us rally for the liberty of the human race—(Applause)—no matter in what country or in what clime he was found, he is entitled to our protection; no matter of what caste, of what creed, or what color, he is your fellow man—he is suffering injustice, and British generosity, which has done so much already, ought to be cheered to the task by the recollection of that success it has already attained. (Cheers.) You have already heard from the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington something of the early struggles of the venerable Clarkson—and how precious was the tear that rolled down his cheek when he made that statement—we have read that the recording angel dropped a tear on an oath which had been extorted in the cause of humanity, and blotted it out for ever—and the tear that stood upon his cheek seemed to have been called forth by similar feelings. (Cries of "Hear, hear.") He reminded us that Clarkson had at first stood alone—that Wilberforce had but few to assist him, and that when Lushington and Buxton came into the contest, there were only enough to be laughed at by the selfish, and the Americans, but no more; they had neither pistols nor cavalry, nor serried infantry—they had nothing to contend against the congregated power of British mistaken avarice, and the immense wealth of the planter class. Yes, they had the generous the humane, the noble spirit of the British people—they had the protection of God, and, blessed be God, we have lived to see the accomplishment of much that they had anticipated. (Loud cheers.) What is our strength now to what it was when Buxton and others came into the contest? (Hear, hear.) We have had 500 Delegates, from various parts of the world. They have come from America and from France—we have foreigners, and judges, and distinguished men of all descriptions. From 400 places under the British dominion, Delegates have

been sent to our Convention. Our meetings have been attended by audiences whose countenance alone would more than satisfy the utmost measure of fame or approbation. They are surrounding us still. Oh! the women of England are here—(Loud and continued cheers)—as they always are, foremost in the cause which humanity recommends to them. They will appeal on its behalf to their fathers, their brothers, and their sons. I am zealous in the cause to be sure, but inefficient—acknowledging the humility of the individual, I am still swelled by the greatness of the cause. My bosom expands, and I glory in the domestic struggle for freedom which gave me a title to stand among you, and to use that title in the best way I can to proclaim humanity to man, and the abolition of slavery all over the world. The Hon. and learned member sat down amid loud cheering.

HERALD OF FREEDOM
"Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these ye did it not to me."
S. P. RIDGWAY, Editor.
"In the name of our God we will set up our banners."

CONCORD: JULY 31, 1840.

The London Convention.

The limits of our paper will not permit us to give so full an account of this assemblage as we could wish. We shall continue the account from week to week until we have given all the most important proceedings. The following is the discussion on the question of membership, which occurred on the first day of the meeting.

Mr. Phillips said he had a resolution to submit to the meeting, the object of which was to appoint a committee of five to prepare a correct list of the members of the Convention, instructing them to include the names of all persons bearing credentials from any Anti-Slavery Society. It had been suggested to him by several friends to make a motion to that effect, and he would shortly state his reasons for doing so. There were several ladies from the State of Massachusetts who had been refused admission into the Convention. (Hear, hear.) He did not use too strong an expression when he said they were aggrieved by that act of the committee. The call of Mr. Tredgold, the Secretary, which reached America, bore an invitation to the friends of abolition of every nation and of every clime. (Hear, hear.) Massachusetts had for several years acted upon the principle of admitting women on an equality with men in her deliberations upon the subject, and the American Anti-Slavery Society had by a majority of votes adopted the same custom. The State of Massachusetts acted upon the call which had been read from the platform to invite its members to attend, and they stood there in consequence of that invitation. They conceived that they had a right to understand that women were included in that invitation. (Cheers, and cries of 'No, no.') They had come 4000 miles to attend the World's Convention, and it was rather hard that they should be now refused a place in the meeting. (Hear, hear.)

Professor Adam had great pleasure in expressing his entire concurrence in the sentiments of the last speaker. He would only add, that if ladies who had come from America were not deemed entitled to admission in consequence of the credentials that they bore, he felt that he was not entitled to a place there. (Hear, hear.) His credentials proceeded from the same persons, and the same society,—it bore the same names, and he had no other authority by which he could appear amongst them or take a part in their proceedings, and have a voice in their deliberations, than the right which was equally possessed by the ladies to whom a place amongst them had been denied. In his opinion they were fixing a stigma upon the women of America by not admitting them. (Loud cries of 'No, no.')

Mr. Stacey felt placed in a very invidious position. He denied that there was any intention to throw the slightest stigma upon the friends from America. The system in England was uniform, and it was this, that in all matters of mere business, unless ladies were announced as associated they did not form any part of the working body. (Hear, hear.) Having taken an early part in the proceedings of the Society, he felt himself authorized to make that remark, and to his certain knowledge the documents calling that Convention had no reference at all, or ever contemplated including females as a part of the Convention. He had become aware that there was a disposition, on the part of their American brethren, to construe that clause as it would have been used by themselves. On that knowledge the committee issued another circular, dated 15th Feb. in which the meaning was explained. He felt that in doing so they had done all in their power to prevent inconvenience to their American brethren. As, however, the discussion on the subject had been introduced, the sooner the Convention came to a decision on the question the better.

Dr. Bowring, for one, would say that the system of excluding ladies from co-operating in works of active benevolence, was a custom more honored in the breach than the observance. They had a recent instance of that deep interest which the most illustrious female in that country had taken in the subject, by sending her illustrious consort to preside at the recent meeting of a similar Society at Exeter Hall. (Hear, hear.) He would venture to say, that to the active and zealous co-operation of females, the Society owed a great portion of its success. He looked upon the delegation of women to their Convention from the Transatlantic world with delight. What! American women coming to England as the representatives of the Anti-Slavery Associations, not be welcomed among them!—what, are they not to be welcomed with honor, not to be put in the seats of dignity! Surely in England that could never be. He trusted that the meeting would respond to the proposition almost with unanimity. A committee would be appointed, and he could not for a moment think that they would refuse to greet such delegates with a hearty welcome. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. J. Burnet said, if ever there could arise any question upon which the members of the Convention required the utmost calmness and self-collectedness, it was then under discussion. Even the existence of the convention itself was perilled in the present discussion—(Hear, hear)—and whilst he had the highest possible respect and regard for the ladies of America, as well as in England; and whilst he could not entertain for them other than feelings of the highest respect and veneration, he must at the same time claim the indulgence of the meeting while he took a calm and deliberate view of that, the most important question which the Convention could be called upon to discuss. It was necessary in the discussion of it to be both firm and calm; and he promised them that while he would be firm in maintaining his sentiments, he would be as calm in stating them. The gentleman who had stated the case had done so well and calmly, and claimed for the women what no man would be more ready to give them than he, viz: credit for their energy and devotion to the anti-slavery cause; and trusting that those active exertions—not doubting that they would be continued, and he must say, that all this was applicable to the women of England too, he must still say that the friends in America had put a forced construction upon the words of the invitation sent out by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. In one thing said by the gentleman he cordially concurred—he contended for putting an American interpretation upon American phraseology; certainly so they ought; but they ought also, upon the same principle, to put an English interpretation upon English phraseology. (Cheers and laughter.) They must be allowed to say that it never did occur to the Society that they were inviting ladies from any part of the globe; it never was contemplated that the resolutions of their committee could be so construed. Now, it had come upon them by surprise, without any contemplation. Now, was it fair that they should be called upon now to discuss such a question, when they never for a moment even fancied such a contingency? Now, he must say, and it was unfair that he should be called upon to do so, that no indignity was offered, or intended to be offered, to the ladies—they were placed on a level with their own wives and daughters—(Cheers)—and if they were placed upon such a level, it was impossible to say that any insult or indignity was offered to them. He would welcome those ladies to their Hall with pleasure—to that part of it to which they would be admitted with propriety. They would treat them with all attention, with all respect, but they could not clothe them with the character of officers of the Convention.

The Rev. Mr. Grew said that the admission of females to take a part in the Convention did not accord with his views of propriety.

The Rev. Mr. Colver felt bound to say, that there was a very large portion of the brethren in America, who upon this question thought as the English did; and, had it not been understood that the English principle would be acted upon, many of them would not have been there.

Mr. Stacy thought it was better to have a distinct position before them. He would, therefore, move as an amendment, 'that the ladies be received with all respect, but not as delegates.'

The Rev. Mr. Gainsha said he was the delegate from an exceedingly numerous constituency in America, and amongst them the ladies took no part in the business of societies. He could say, that it was a very small minority of the abolitionist who had allowed the innovation, and it ought not to be acted upon there.

Dr. Rolfe, from Canada, spoke in favor of the amendment.

Mr. G. Bradburn, of the Legislature of Massachusetts, hoped that the original motion would have been agreed to without any discussion. He did not anticipate any difference of opinion upon such a question, in that which was a World's Convention. That was a Convention of abolitionists from all parts of the world. Then were the delegates of Massachusetts to be debarred the privilege—the right—of sending the delegates of their own election? It would no longer be a World's Convention if such freely chosen delegates were to be excluded. (Hear.) It had been said if the women were admitted they would take sides. Why, had they not as good a right to take sides as the men? (Hear, hear.)

Colonel Miller then arose to address the meeting, but

The Chairman suggested that it would be advisable to have the second letter of invitation, explaining the basis on which the Convention had been called, read, which was accordingly done by the Secretary.

Colonel Miller then proceeded. He fortunately belonged to a State in America that had never been troubled with a woman question. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) The women were among their primeval abolitionists, and had been merely seconded by their husbands. This question ought never to have come here to have been settled, but ought to have been decided on their own shores. The women had been duly delegated in the cause of humanity. He did not claim for them pre-eminence over man, but would merely observe that they were first in their attendance at the cross, and first and last at the sepulchre, and that from that day to this they had taken the van in the march of civilized liberty. (Cheers.) He only wanted a fair and honorable expression of the opinion of the meeting, and to that opinion he pledged himself that the delegates from America would bow. (Hear, hear.)

Captain Stuart was persuaded, having been in the United States, and being largely acquainted with the great body of abolitionists, that in Pensylvania and Massachusetts, the most uncompromising friends of liberty and of the slaves were against the reception of lady delegates, as recommended.

Mr. William Allen urged the assembly to consider the value of the cause they were all met to promote, and he regretted that a question of this sort had ever been mooted. (Hear, hear, hear.) It might be a subject of grave and proper consideration at another time and in another place, but he thought the introduction of the question into that assembly would merely prove an apple of discord.

Mr. George Thompson claimed the attention of the Convention for a few moments, because the present question was one upon which he thought the fate of the Convention, for all good purposes, hinged. (Hear, hear.) He had deprecated most sincerely the introduction of the question into the Convention. He had anticipated it with dread; and although they were not in a situation to retrace their steps, yet they had it in their power to avert the consequences that must inevitably ensue if they became partizans in this matter; and if, in consequence of their recorded votes, they should regard their friends with whom alone they could associate or be useful, as enemies. He had listened attentively to the arguments of Mr. Burnet, one of our best controversialists, and what were those arguments? First, that English phraseology must be construed according to English usages; secondly, that it was never contemplated by the anti-slavery committee of that Society that ladies should occupy a seat in the Convention; thirdly, that the ladies of England were not there as delegates; and fourthly, that neither he nor any other individual had a desire to offer the ladies an insult. Those, he presumed, were the strongest arguments Mr. Burnet could urge; and, in opposition to them, he (Mr. Thompson,) would observe, that there were present ladies who presented themselves as delegates from known societies—the originators of all the other Societies in America. He had expected that Mr. Burnet, if he had intended to offer a successful opposition to their introduction, would have grappled with the constitutionality of their credentials—would have gone to the question of title, and disputed the right of the Pennsylvania Assembly to send ladies to the Convention. Those ladies came as the representatives of two millions and a half of slaves, and he would implore gentlemen, in voting upon this question, to remember that in admitting or rejecting them they acknowledged or despised their constituents. (Hear, hear, and No, no.) The grand objection that had been taken was, that, if admitted, the ladies would be placed upon a footing of equality with themselves; and that that equality would be contrary to custom, usage, and principle. That was a flimsy excuse for their exclusion. They had advocated the cause of the poor slave, and suffered much for his sake, before their opponents were known as abolitionists. (Cheers.) He could not understand the ground upon which they were to be excluded. It could not be on the side of intellect, principle or discretion. Their conduct in the anti-slavery cause had been above all praise, and while they had carried their flag in the van, the men had most humbly and obsequiously followed in the rear. (Cheers and laughter.) The State of Massachusetts had heard Angelina Grimke, the female delegate of the Anti-Slavery Societies, and she was commended for that course. The most efficient societies in America were those conducted by women. As to the propriety of the thing he had his own opinion, and had labored to the eleventh hour to prevent the question being mooted here. (Loud cries of 'Hear, hear.') Even now he should be glad if it were thought proper to withdraw it. (Hear hear.) It was said that if they rejected not the ladies they would regret it. Why? On account of magnanimity or gentlemanly feeling? (Hear, hear.) He yet apprehended the greatest difficulties from a division—(Hear, hear) —and perhaps the sense of the meeting could be taken without, and a protest entered. But upon the question coming thus distinctly forward, he thought he should be recreant to all that was generous, had he forborne to say what he had. For the appearance of some of the ladies he was answerable—he had written, inviting them, but he confessed he did not then anticipate that they would come as delegates. (Hear, hear.) He earnestly requested his American friends to withdraw their motion.

Mr. G. Stacey withdrew his amendment, trusting that the original motion would also be withdrawn; and if not the Convention would have to decide it, yea or nay.

Mr. W. Phillips could not take upon himself the responsibility of withdrawing.

Here there were shouts of 'question and division.'

The Chairman said that Mr. Phillips having exercised his right of replying, he was now about to put the question.

Several delegates here rose together to protest against the question being now put.

Mr. Phillips said he had not risen to reply, but merely to explain.

The Chairman said that such being the case the discussion must be allowed to continue.

Mr. Caines, of Edinburgh, then rose to address the meeting, and said that he had to propose an amendment, which he hoped would have the effect of settling this question, without offending the feelings of any party. The amendment he proposed to submit was to the following effect:—'That this Convention finds itself placed in a state of great perplexity by the claims of the female delegates from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania to be received as delegates to the Convention. That it regrets that, according to the terms of the invitation, it cannot receive them as such; whilst at the same time it takes this opportunity of expressing its admiration of the zeal which has induced them to undertake a voyage of 4000 miles in order to be present on this occasion.' (Cheers.)

Mr. Ashurst said it did not matter what were the intentions of the committee in issuing the invitation; the question was as to what their intention ought to have been. This was a convention met together on the principles of universal benevolence, and they ought to welcome all who came there for the purpose of carrying those principles into effect; and from such a meeting assembled on such principles they were now about to exclude the women of America, and this they called acting on principles of universality. They professed to act on principles of universality, and were about to commence their proceedings by disfranchising one half of creation. Women were as competent as men to understand, and to guard everything connected with Christianity, and to bring forth the best qualities of our nature. Let them look at the argument on the other side: it was contended that the invitation of the committee should be construed according to the customs of the country in which they were to assemble. Now what would have been the case if the Convention had assembled in Virginia? It would be said that by law and custom slavery existed in that State, and that therefore, they had no right to set themselves in opposition to the prejudices and customs of society by attempting to put it down. (Cries of 'No, no,' and great confusion.) The anti-slavery cause was under the greatest obligations to the exertions of women, and yet they were going to begin their first Convention by disfranchising their constituency as they did one-half of creation. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Mr. Harvey, of Glasgow, regretted that the question had been brought before the meeting. The Convention was now called upon not to come to any decision as to the slavery question, but to come to a decision on the question of the right of females. [Cheers.] He would yield to no man in the high estimation he felt for the female character. No man appreciated more highly than himself the kindness, the zeal, and the disinterested benevolence of the female character, and none had labored more effectively than they had done in the anti-slavery cause. [Cheers.] But he doubted whether in such a meeting as the present females were in their own proper sphere —[Cheers]—and at the question of the admission should be pressed to a division, he should certainly give his most decided opposition to it. [Cheers.] It had been stated by some of the delegates from America that this was with them a question of conscience—why, it was also a question of conscience with him too. He entertained certain views on this subject, with regard to the word of God, and he thought and conscientiously believed that if he gave his vote for admitting females to vote and speak in such an assembly as the present, he should be acting in opposition to what he considered the word of God—[Cheers and great confusion]—but while he said this, he at the same time must express his admiration of the devotedness, the heroism, and the enlightened zeal which they had exhibited in their endeavors to ameliorate the unhappy condition of the slaves, and he would hold them up as an example to the women of Britain, for the devotedness which they had displayed to effect this object. [Cheers.]

The Rev. J. A. James, of Birmingham, had not been an indifferent nor an inactive spectator of the progress of the cause of the abolition of slavery in America; and such had been the impression formed upon his mind, of the exertions of those females of whose names America might be justly proud, that he would willingly have undertaken the journey to town had it been only to see such women as Mrs. Chapman and Mrs. Bevan. But he was quite sure that, in that assembly that morning, the moving the question of their admission had been prejudicial to the cause. He was sorry the abstract question of the rights of women had occupied so large a share of their attention. He regretted that the question had been brought from the other side of the Atlantic. (Cheers.) It would have been better to have settled it there first—(Cheers)—and have allowed them to pursue their own course without embarrassing them on the subject. (Loud cheers.) Several expressions had been made use of by the gentlemen from America, in the course of the discussion, which he had been delighted to hear. He was pleased with the declaration of Mr. Miller, that whatever might be the decision of the majority of the Convention, to that he was prepared to bow; and though as Mr. Phillips could not conscientiously consent to withdraw his resolution, the question must go to the vote, yet he thought, however they might give their votes, it would occasion no divisions among them, but that they would all be prepared to go forward in the great and good work which they had undertaken with perfect confidence in each other's motives. (Loud cheers.) They had never before had a single word on the question of the right of females. It was a question perfectly new in this country. They were not prepared for its discussion. It had never before been mooted, and they were therefore not prepared to jump to a conclusion. The question involved in this country far wider considerations than even the question of slavery itself—(Hear, hear, and cheers)—and he trusted they would not gratify their enemies by quarrelling on the threshhold. (Loud cheers.) He was sure the American delegates would stand acquitted at the bar of their own country of any imputation of lukewarmness on this question. (Cheers.) The females could never reproach them with having deserted their cause, and they would go back honored by all those who had sent them there—and should they one day agree with their American friends in opinion on this subject, then would they welcome those females within the bar who were now placed a little beyond it, but whom he could not think disgraced by being so placed. (Cheers.) No man could have read 'The Martyr Age,' without forming the highest opinion of the devotedness, the talents, and the heroism of the women of America. (Cheers.) America was the only country in the world which could boast a very extensive martyrology to this cause, and they would add another laurel to their wreaths, by conceding the point under discussion—(Cheers and laughter)—they would still continue to appear in this first meeting of the sort which had ever been assembled since slavery first existed, and be with them and around them, although they could not be amongst them. He hoped that all that had occurred on this question would be only like what sometimes was introduced into the most melodious music, a discord only to make the harmony the sweeter. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Caine's amendment not having been seconded, fell to the ground, and the Chairman was about to put the original resolution, when

Mr. Stacey said, that he had only consented to withdraw his amendment, upon the understanding that Mr. Phillips would consent to withdraw his original motion; but that gentleman having declined, it was not competent for him to do so. He (Mr. Stacey) would not withdraw his amendment. (Loud cries of 'Question, question; Divide, divide.')

The Chairman said, that as the greatest majority of the meeting seemed to wish to come to a decision on the subject, he would now put the question.

Rev. Dr. Cox protested against this peremptory decision of the Chairman. It was not competent for any number of gentlemen to demand of the Chairman that he should come to a prompt decision on this subject. (Cheers.) Gentlemen on the other side of the question were entitled to be heard, and if they were not heard, he should move an adjournment.

Mr. J. Canning Fuller said, that he represented as large a constituency as any one present, and he was surprised that any attempt should be made to prevent persons from speaking. It had been said that the question ought to have been settled on the other side the Atlantic. Why, it had been settled in favor of the women a year ago; and with regard to the terms of the invitation, there was nothing about gentlemen in the first invitation, and the women had been elected before the second notice had been received.

Captain Walker said, that in whatever country an institution was formed, something should be given up to the feelings and prejudices of the country in which it was formed. (Cheers.) The ladies across the Atlantic had exerted themselves nobly.—(Cheers.)—and he trusted they would continue to do so.—(Loud cheers) —but he entreated the ladies not to push the question.—[Cheers.] They did not perhaps fully comprehend the feeling existing in this country on the subject. [Cheers.] The question referred itself to this. Were they prepared to give up the institution of this Society? [Loud cheers.] Were the Americans willing to cast off England altogether? England had given proof of her sincerity to the anti-slavery cause by paying twenty millions to get rid of the abomination of slavery, and were they now willing to cast England off? If the society had been established in America, he should never have mooted the question of the exclusion of females; he would do nothing to offend the prejudices of the country in which they were, and he trusted they would do nothing calculated to cripple the great cause in which they were engaged. [Cheers.]

Mr. Birney, Secretary of the National Anti-Slavery Society of New-York, said that he rose for the purpose of correcting an impression which might be produced upon the minds of the Convention, by what had fallen from some of the preceding speakers from the United States and also from G. Thompson. Those gentlemen had made use of expressions calculated to produce the impression that the woman question, as it was called, was considered settled in the United States. Now, such was by no means the case. It was still a mooted question, and a question which, since he had left America, had led to a split in the Anti-Slavery Society, and to the organization of a new one, from which females, he had no doubt, would be excluded. It was true the question had been decided in their favor last year, but that decision had been come to by no means a large majority, and a portion of that majority was made up by the females themselves. Again, in Massachusetts, this principle had been a principal ground of separation among the Societies. On both sides of the question, however, were to be found good abolitionists and true. In Massachusetts a separation had taken place—one society admitted females, the other did not. Since he had left New-York, he had heard from his friend, Lewis Tappan on the subject. In a committee of which he was a member, the name of a distinguished abolitionist, Mrs. Child, had been placed on the committee. She was at a distance from the place, and consequently unable to attend, and Mr. Tappan had moved that the name of her husband, Mr. Child, a most talented man should be substituted. This proposition, however, was negatived, and another lady, Miss Kelley, elected in the room of Mrs. Child. In consequence of this, Mr. Tappan and several of his friends had come to a resolution to separate from the society on that ground. Besides, most of those who were for the rights of women were also in favor of what was called the no-human government system. (Hear, hear, hear.) He had only given this account, in order to enable the convention to come to an enlightened decision on the subject. (Cheers.)

Mr. Birney and Mr. Thompson severally explained.

The Rev. C. Stovel said the whole question was now rather one of order than of any thing else. They were assembled there together from all parts of the world to consider questions relating to negro slavery; but whilst they were discussing the powers of the delegates, they were called upon to decide a question of a totally different character—a question of which they had never before heard any thing—the question of the rights of women. He would not withhold from them any of their rights—he would give them more than their rights—he thought that both men and women too would be but hardly off if they had nothing but their rights. If that question was tearing the societies in pieces in the United States, why should they introduce it to tear in pieces this Convention? (Loud cheers.) He considered the introduction of the question was decidedly out of order, and he should vote for the confirmation of the list of delegates, as handed in by the committee, and henceforth he hoped they would entertain this question no more. (Cheers.) Were they not met together pledged to do something against slavery, and would they suffer the tide of benevolence to be stopped by a straw?—They had assembled for the destruction of slavery, and they ought not to expose themselves to ridicule through the whole length and breadth of the land. He should move as an amendment, that the list of delegates, as taken by the committee should be adopted. (Cheers.)

Mr. Prescott of Barbadoes, rose, not for the purpose of discussing the question, but of stating a fact. The ladies themselves had not come over with any very certain expectation of being received among them. (Cheers.) He had had that fact from ladies themselves. They had been elected conditionally, if their reception should be in accordance with the customs of the country; and if it were not so, they were absolved from all responsibility.

The Rev. Mr. Ewan protested against private

conversations being repeated before a public assembly.

Mr. PRESCOTT resumed.—The conversation which took place last night was not a private one; they had had a preliminary meeting, at which persons not delegates were present.—He stated this in the presence of the American delegates, and of the ladies themselves. (Loud cries of 'Order, order.')

The CHAIRMAN said the speaker was decidedly out of order in giving the details of private conversation; he had clearly no right to do so. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. MORRISON said they were already on the brink of a precipice. The discussion of this question had already given rise to feelings not only adverse to the object for which they were assembled, but to that Christian spirit by which all previous anti-slavery meetings had been actuated—(Cheers)—for whatever had been done in this country in the anti-slavery cause, had been done under the guidance of Christian principles. There were firm minded men on both sides of this question. It was a question of conscience between the two parties, but he would say it was a question of conscience between a small minority on one side, and a mighty majority on the other. He might discuss the question until the Convention was broken up—but would their American friends indulge any hope of carrying this question, if it should be put to the vote of the meeting? (Cheers.) He believed if their American friends could be induced to withdraw the motion, unanimity would be secured. They had assembled to discuss the question of anti-slavery, and they were now asked to discuss another, and that upon a minor question, as to the admission of female delegates from a small section of the American continent. He beseeched them calmly to consider the position in which the discussion of that question was placing them that day. (Hear.) The present was unlike any meeting that had hitherto been held in England. All former anti-slavery meetings in England had been unanimous. (Cheers.) Would their American brethren keep them in their present position? Besides, he thought it improper that this discussion should be carried on in the presence of the ladies. (Loud cheers.) He knew the feelings of the Americans upon this subject. He knew how anxious the discussion of this question in their own country had made them, and now they were making the friends of the anti-slavery cause as anxious on the subject in this.—(Cheers.) He was convinced they did not admire the position females occupied in this country, or they would never have mooted this question. He urged them to proceed immediately to their division, in a spirit of Christian charity, and to abide by the decision. (Loud cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN said the hour was so late that he should now call upon Mr. Phillips to reply.

Mr. PHILLIPS, in reply, denied the assertions of Mr. Prescott, that the women did not expect to be received when they came here, or that they had any liberty left them of choice. The women of Massachusetts had no such liberty of choice left them, and they would have been coming to that Convention with a lie in their mouths, and have been guilty of the grossest deception if, having such liberty, they had come before the Convention in the way they had done. The particulars of that conversation had been greatly exaggerated. It was not true that the rent in the American Societies had been owing to the introduction of the woman question; his friend who had made that assertion, had been misinformed on the subject. It was politic when had occasioned that split, and not the introduction of the woman question. He, for one, was not a favorer of the no-human government plan; and he knew many strenuous supporters of the rights of women who, like himself, were by no means favorable to that scheme.

The question was then put, and Mr. Stacey's amendment carried by a large majority. The announcement of the result was received with loud cheering.

Mr. G. THOMPSON hoped that as the question was now decided, it would never again be brought forward, and that the Convention would proceed with the same good feeling as if nothing had occurred to disturb their unanimity.—(Cheers.)

Mr. PHILLIPS said he did not doubt but that the supporters of his motion would co-operate with the Convention with just the same cordiality as if it had been carried. All they asked was an expression of opinion on the subject, and having obtained that, they would go on with them with a perfect feeling of cordiality. [Loud cheers.]

Professor ADAM would co-operate with the gentlemen around him with as much zeal and earnestness as if this question had never been started. [Cheers.]

On motion of Mr. STURGE, the Convention then adjourned to ten o'clock the next morning.

From the Liberator.

Letter from Wendell Phillips.

LONDON, June, 1840.

DEAR JOHNSON:—The World's Convention has ended—or rather there has been no World's Convention, properly so called. We have sat ten days, and had, by the kind hospitality of the English friends, many opportunities of meeting, besides the daily sessions of the Convention. The cordiality and kindness of the friends here has been unbounded. We shall all be ever grateful for the opportunity they have given us of meeting, under such favorable circumstances, with many whose names have been long familiar and dear to us.

The meetings here have many points to distinguish them from the same assemblies at home. For instance, all the morning papers report our proceedings, and there exists no prejudice against being called an abolitionist: on the contrary, men seem to struggle for the honor of being known as such. Among the spectators, we had Lady Byron, (who, by the by, took her seat one day by the side of our friend Remond, and entered quite familiarly into conversation with him,) Mrs. Jamieson, Mrs. Opie, Elizabeth Fry, the Countess of Brunswick, &c. Then among our members and speakers, O'Connell spoke almost every day—Bowring, Campbell, Lushington, Buxton, Sir Eardly Wilmot, Isambert, one of the French Deputies,—&c. &c. Brougham excused himself from attending on account of illness. At the public meeting, (anniversary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,) in Exeter Hall, which followed the Convention, I noticed at least one colored man mingled in with the audience; and just behind an English Duchess, not six feet from our Royal Chairman, the Duke of Sussex crowded in among members of Parliament, &c. sat two colored men: yet there were, I do assure you, no symptoms of a *mob*. Indeed, though Remond stepped from just behind O'Connell, and followed him in a most beautiful and happy speech—much applauded—the audience received it with Christian meekness—not having the fears of a Philadelphia public before their eyes. So much for the colorphobia.

The Convention has taken some steps calculated to tell on the American public. Their resolutions, urging it as a duty incumbent on churches not to hold fellowship with slaveholders, will, I trust, secure the deep attention of every American Christian—especially as we had many of the best known and most influential clergy of England among our members. They were drawn by a committee on which was J. Angell James; spoken to by J. Burnet a leader of the Dissenters, and most of the clergy present, and assented to even by Dr. Cox.

The opportunity we have had of full communion with the English friends has enabled us to point out the ways in which they may be most useful to the cause in America, by religious and literary influence. We have declared independence, you know, of Queens and Parliaments; but every abolitionist must rejoice that we are still vassals to the genius of the mother country—that the power rests with her Religion and Literature to draw round the conscience of the slaveholder, like the Roman herald of old, a magic circle, and say 'thence thou shalt not pass till the spell be broken by the shout of emancipated man.' All this we have urged upon them, and they are pledged to use this mighty weapon in our aid. Their Reviews, which float where an anti-slavery tract would be scouted, will come, I trust, bearing healing on their wings.

And now for the other side of the picture.

You will recollect, that the friends were requested to assemble here a few days previous to the opening of the Convention, for the purpose of consultation, &c. Many did so from Ireland and Scotland, as well as the United States, and were surprised to find they received no intimation of any wish for their presence at the meetings of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Though they met us constantly at the tea parties held in the Anti Slavery Rooms, and were known to be arranging the details of the Convention, still no advice was asked of any one not a member of the Committee. The first order issued was for us to deposite our credentials with their Secretary and receive tickets, without which no one would be admitted into the hall. We did so, thinking it a mere form, and that, of course, the Convention would raise a committee of its own body to inspect credentials and make out a roll. But, it chanced that there were women's names on the Massachusetts list—to them a ticket of membership was refused. A deputation from the committee waited on us to let us know the determination of that body, which I accompany.

"A letter having been read, addressed to the Secretary, dated Boston, 24th April, signed by Francis Jackson, President, and W. L. Garrison, Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Anti Slavery Society, stating that several ladies have been appointed as delegates to the approaching Convention, it was unanimously

Resolved, That the Committee, in the original summons of the Convention, did not contemplate, collectively or individually, the admission of ladies.

That at a subsequent period, in the letters of the 15th of February, extensively circulated on both sides of the Atlantic, the invitation is addressed to gentlemen exclusively.

That the subject having been brought seriously and deliberately before this Committee on the 15th of May, it was unanimously determined that ladies were inadmissible as delegates, and it is now again resolved, without a single dissentient voice, that this opinion be confirmed and respectfully communicated to the parties in question.

W. D. CREWDSON, *Chairman.*

We told them we could not submit to their determination—that we had come to a Convention which would, of course, settle the qualifications of its own members. They assured us we had mistaken the nature of the meeting. It might have been called 'by a political license a World's Convention,' but was in fact only a Conference with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and, as such, they should settle who were to be admitted as members.

We replied, it would be our duty to bring that question before the Convention. (By 'we' and 'us' I mean the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania delegation. Of the New York friends, some stood aloof—more joined with the Committee and argued their cause most stoutly.) It was confessed by more than one that letters had been received from America on this point; and they, with other things, were the occasion, no doubt, of those explanatory papers sent to the United States, in which it was insinuated rather than expressed, that membership would be limited to gentlemen. Prof. Adam and myself waited on the Committee, stating our surprise that all having been requested to come early, no one had been invited to sit with the Committee, and protesting against their assumption of power to settle the terms of membership. They heard us very kindly about fifteen minutes. We were then, on the motion of J. Sturge, politely requested to retire and leave them to deliberate on what we had said.

In this state of things, the Convention met—amid earnest requests to us on all sides to avoid outraging English feeling and bringing division into so noble a body. Reverend Divines thought it duty to intercede with us personally, and eminent abolitionists painted in glowing colors the ruin which impended:—all persisted in giving an exclusively *English* character to the meeting, and interpreting the terms of their invitation by English usages; while we allowed this would be right had we come to an *English* meeting—but wholly refused to have a *World's* Convention measured by an English yardstick.

The Convention opened. Clarkson took the Chair, led in by two gentlemen. The feeble old man seemed hardly able to bear the scene. But his mind was clear as when he passed by the way-side and took that resolve which has revolutionized a world. He addressed us most appropriately. The holy and chastened feeling, the expression of deep seriousness, which pervaded the audience during his presence, gave it more the aspect of an abolition gathering with us; for I think there is more clapping and excitement—more notice of distinguished men—more similarity to common meetings for political and other purposes, and less of devoted seriousness here, than in the anti-slavery assemblies with us.

Had we known then, however, what afterwards came to our knowledge in regard to Clarkson's speech, there had been no feeling in the meeting but the deepest indignation. We have it on his own authority, that after his arrival in London at sunset until 11 P. M., he was waited on by three successive deputations from the London Committee to see the speech which, from fear of excitement from the scene, he had thought prudent to have in writing—and finding that near one third of it related to India, they urged and urged him, till the old man was persuaded to omit it—a proof, this urgency of men, of what no member of this Convention will need any evidence, of the hostility which lurks in the London Committee against, I will not say the British India scheme, but at least against us being fairly and fully submitted to the Convention. Yes, the question, which, next to the moral means, brings with it the brightest ray of hope to the slave, was kept sedulously back, and carefully excluded from the place and space which its importance demanded. And this conduct in regard to Thomas Clarkson—this reducing the meeting to pupilage—how deeply insulting, how degrading to the body which had assembled at their call!

After Clarkson left the Chair, the honor was conceded to me by the friends, of moving for a committee on the roll. My motion was so worded as to present the right of the Convention to make up its own roll, and also requiring them to receive all *persons* delegated. Prof. Adam seconded the motion. We received unexpected support and powerful aid from Bowring and Mr. Ashurst; but, after a stormy debate of several hours, during which we were urged by almost every speaker to withdraw the motion, the vote was taken and carried by nine-tenths against us. Stanton voted with us though he took no part in the debate. All the members of the British Indy Committee voted with us, among whom were our staunch and kind friends the Peases. Some of the speakers denied the right of the Convention to meddle with the question who should be members! Others insisted on the exclusion of the women. The amendment, which was passed instead of our original motion, settled only that women should not be members. Yet, while by the very fact of passing such a vote, the Convention impliedly admitted their own right to make up their roll, they never resumed the subject, nor decided the point, but tacitly accepted the roll made for them by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti Slavery Society.

Thus was the first great struggle, I may say so slight a word as refusing to allow Massachusetts to say by whom she should be represented, and sitting down a mere Conference, under the shadow of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This last may seem a mere form, but from it, as Lord Clarendon says, many and all branches of mischief did grow. Some of us took it for deliberation whether we had a right to remain in such a body, after dissolving that had its character been previously known, we never should have become its members—but, seeing it might be some testimony to the knowing heathen we might make what it ought to be, and unreasonable as was the right of all delegated they were, we came to the conclusion that it was best, under all the circumstances, to remain.

One little circumstance I will mention, further to illustrate what I consider a prominent fault of the meeting—its timidity. Broughan was alluding to the manner in which Bristol merchants deserted their principles, on our side the Atlantic, when, much, I confess to my surprise, but not personally knowing them, I had not dreamed they could be members of the Convention, appointed Messrs. Ibbity and Cox, and deemed it to be heard—and no surprise never did I undergo—expressed my first feeling was that I could not be guilty in the right place, having them on his side platform. Dr. Cox indeed made a frank avowal of a change of opinion, when the church resolutions were under discussion, stating that he went with them, thought slavery a sin in all cases, &c. He, I suppose, stands about where he did; also the meeting which deprecated discussion for fear of division among such brethren as he, was not the World's Convention which Massachusetts, at least, anti-garrison.

A day or two after, Garrison, Burgess, and the rest arrived. They refused to enter the Convention, and were permitted almost unnoticed to occupy seats in the gallery, though to be sure the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society did by letter (in my opinion wholly without authority—what had they to do with our members after the Convention had assembled?) request them to sit with us. They saw it, however, to be duty to decline. As Mr. Garrison's credentials from the American Society had been their two resolutions expressive of that Society's views and feelings in regard to the Convention, I placed them before the Business Committee, desiring to have them read. They refused, alleging that they were to be credentials, and as such, should be submitted to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. This I denied; but, to avoid the difficulty, I offered to omit the resolution appointing delegates, and read only the other two. They thought this could not properly be done. I then stated my determination to offer them to the meeting on my individual responsibility. In attempting to do so, I will not go into detail of circumstances. I was stopped by what seemed as well as myself thought an unparliamentary construction of the rules of order—but, at any rate, a most partial and unequal one, when tickets were permitted to speak on subjects quite foreign to the meeting, and entirely out of its control for the morning, and entirely out of its control order, again and again, without interruption. There were several cases in which we should, if the rules of order were somewhat construed to the subject expected to be brought forward, and at least they were more strictly enforced on some subjects than others.

The last day of the Convention, Prof. Adam, (who if any one here deserves more praise than another, has stood foremost in a steady, fearless, and clear-sighted course from the first,) Bradburn, Miller, Mott, Lester, Winslow and myself offered a protest against the London Committee assuming to organize the Convention—against the Convention's excluding the women—and against the partial manner in which the rules of order had been enforced.

After the Protest was read, we moved that it be part of the records. Whereupon, Colver, Campbell entered or retired, but hushed down every allusion to our Clarkson, while he sat pinioned in the gallery, and received with faint cold cheers, every expression, (and they were frequent,) which Americans poured out in grateful ode to Thompson. And you will hardly believe me when I say, that Scott Burns's cold reception in Exeter Hall to dear Amerman slavery, and place on the list of Vice Presidents the names of Stanley and Bickey, and leave out from among those Duncan and Stanton, as a [illegible] American feeling at all. Nor was [illegible] by every means employed for exciting [illegible] You know any other index of its [illegible] I was almost startled to hear Stanley announce as Secretary of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. We had been battling for a fortnight with the assumption of the whole name and character of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, and to split at last, and have [illegible] Foreign Society, could not have [illegible] Parliament [illegible]

[illegible] merely [illegible] Foreign [illegible] Foreign [illegible] Foreign

COMMUNICATIONS.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Rev. Parker Pillsbury, Sir, —We have more than once(1) stated our views of the *impolicy* and injustice of the general, indiscriminate, and sweeping denunciations of ministers, and christians, by certain abolitionists, through the columns of the Herald. In the Herald of July 31, in your remarks upon an article in the Emancipator, in relation to the annual meeting of the New-Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, we have what appears to us, *slanderous imputations* cast upon the christian ministry: "Or is he (the editor of the Emancipator) like most of the ministry, cherishing the belief that no matter what the sin is which exists in the church, if it cannot be eradicated without disturbing the church organization let it remain."

In the article on the same page containing your animadversions upon a letter from some person wishing to discontinue the Herald, we meet with the following:

"Perhaps our brother was offended with brother Foster's faithfulness in Rev. Mr. Tracy." "Time-serving Slavery-abetting pulpit."

We say nothing of your glorification of your brother Foster. [2] We have read and heard a good deal of vapouring and vauntings by this same Foster, about his persecutions, and opposition from ministers. Now we frankly confess that we could not resist the conviction, that at most and best he had been "bulletted for his faults."

But permit us to offer a few remarks upon your own statements concerning "*most of the ministry*." How came you to know that "*most* of the ministry cherish the belief that no matter what the sin is which exists in the church—if it cannot be eradicated without disturbing the church organization let it remain".(3) How came you I say, to know that the "most of the ministry" held such sentiments. You will not pretend that it is from personal acquaintance. You do not pretend that you have been favored with any direct revelation on this subject. [4] How then do you know? Is it from report? "Report say they and we will report." If we could pretend to be as well acquainted with the ministry as you are we should say you came very near giving utterance, and publicity to a gratuitous libel on the ministry. (5) But what do you mean by "church organization?" [6] You must mean, (if you meant any thing) *the constitution of the christian church*. [7] What is the constitution, or as you denominate it, "the organization of the church." A church of Christ according to scripture testimony, is the *knowledge* and influence of *Divine Truth*, leading to a voluntary association of believers for the purposes of mutual edification, in the observance of all Divine Institutions. The truths of the glorious gospel received cordially, become through the power of the Holy Spirit, the principle of obedience, it constrains those who give "themselves to the Lord, "to give themselves to one another according to the will of God." This manifestly is not the "organization" of which you speak: for it would be idle, and indeed something more to speak of disturbing "this organization by eradicating sin." Such a constitution is builded upon the foundation of the apostles, and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone." And we see not how the eradicating of sin is going to "disturb this organization."—"The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Surely the eradicating of great sins, so far from disturbing this organization, will only tend to purify, confirm and strengthen. (8) What then do you mean by "the most of the ministry, who cherish the belief, that no matter what the sin is which exists in the church—if it cannot be eradicated without disturbing the organization, let it remain." Have you any specific meaning? (9) Or was it merely a flourish? A flow aimed at the ministry. Now sir, permit us to be serious with you. We have upon a former occasion said, that admitting that churches and ministers, and others are as bad as they are represented, ridicule, and reproach, and especially unintelligible, unmeaning, impertinent insinuations are not the most likely means to "convert them from the error of their ways." And if such be the intention of those who persist in using them, they have no right to expect to succeed.

We would say that the charge against the ministry upon which we have been remarking, is of a kin to those general, sweeping indiscriminate charges of which we have heretofore complained. As far as we are acquainted with the ministry (and I know not but our acquaintance may be nearly as extensive as yours) we think that the charge is unkind, unjust, and impolitic. Those who are determined to forget the slave, and abuse some of their best friends, in my estimation of others "stabbing anti-slavery under the fifth rib." We would tell them that as far as they have any influence they are "stabbing it under" all the ribs it has got. We confess we have our fears concerning the sincerity and honesty of some vociferous professed abolitionists. (10) We fear deliverance to the slave must arise from some other quarter unless they can be brought to pursue an essentially different course from what has been pursued for some time.

I am sir, Yours, respectfully,
H. ARCHIBALD.

Rev. Parker Pillsbury.
Bow, July 16, 1840.

(1) With all due respect to our friend, we feel constrained to say, that since he has "more than once" occupied a large space in the Herald with his views on this same subject, and since very many of our readers complained last winter and spring that the Herald was too much occupied with letters and speeches on this subject, and have been repeatedly requesting that more room might be given to other matter, we did not expect to answer his communication so soon, that if there were real anti-slavery principles, and churches, no charge could be made against the Herald since the present year. We had for some time to come our columns were crowded with important anti-slavery matter, we hope he will not expect us to carry on any controversy with us [illegible]

(2) Why did you not? Caiaphas, Cain and [illegible] And now we have glorified him?

(3) See Matthew 7.20

(4) No, we have needed none.

(5) What does our friend think of the Old English law, "the greater the truth, the greater the libel?"

(6) We mean in the place to which our friend refers, those bodies banded together in a kind of clanship, calling themselves Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, &c. employed much of the time in warmly if not angry controversy with one another; in some instances carrying matters so far, as that *while they will commune with Slaveholders, slaveholders, Slave traders, and slave venders if of the same sect, will not commune with those of a different sect, no matter how good their character.* Those bodies which with a few exceptions continue to recognize slave-holders as ministers and christians, and which are understood professedly never to be in favor of "wars and fightings," (defensive wars of course) and which if we mistake all in the land, have not by any means, (some exceptions) banished intemperance, by excluding wine and distillers, and venders of ardent spirits, but which have for others as many in time those who are guilty of these things. These are what we meant in that place by *church organizations*. Our brother has seen many of them. He undertakes to answer the question for us, but we choose to answer for ourself.

(7) Indeed, how so? Martin Luther sometimes spake of "the Established Church." Did he mean it be "worth any thing," *the Christian Church?* His meaning church which was prevailed against, though not by "the gates of hell," and which we believe was, or will be destroyed. We advert to this, only to show that men may say "*church organization*," without meaning the church of Christ. We have not said that the organizations of which we have spoken, are, or are not the church of Christ.

(8) This is good theology, and "good anti-slavery doctrine." It is scripture. Nothing would surely confirm and strengthen "the true Church, like everlasting *all sin*. But what the result of such a process would be on the existing organizations, remains to be seen. One minister recently commenced it in Mobile, and was soon informed that if he valued his life, he must fly the State. He was soon safe in New-England. Another undertook the same thing, by reforming a sentence of which he gleaned from his Bible, that the true church must "have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness" and applying it among other things to slavery and intemperance, both which he judged sins, and he too, lost his parish. And not only that, but the New Hampshire Missionary Society refused to aid a church that wished him to become their minister, and gave as the reason, "for the only wished to employ none for their ministers who would labor as missionaries [illegible] own churches." A multitude of such facts as these could be mentioned, which might possibly lead to the conclusion that a regular, thorough purifying process, would not greatly "strengthen and build up" the present church organization, so far as numbers are concerned. Such a conclusion might be wrong.

(9) We think we are understood.

(10) How much better spirit in other Archibalds is there than he complains of!!! He can severely censure and rebuke and charge with *insincerity* and *dishonesty*, those who have sacrificed every thing to the cause of the slave; but we venture to affirm, that there is not a slaveholding minister or church, or a single apologist for them in all the land, but that would read such papers as those of our brother's till their hearts were as white as the paper on which it is printed, and never dream of the sinfulness of slaveholding, the impropriety and wickedness of supporting such a thing, and slaveholding churches and ministers. But we respect rather think of these things. But we suppose [illegible] letter, epistle, which would not be endorsed by every slaveholder in the land? We respect both the author of the letter, but we despise and abhor slaveholding slave, and for the sake of the holy religion taught in [illegible] which is as far from slavery as heaven is from hell, we hope we may more such letters will be written. But we feel quite sure that if there should be, our dear will be, to fill the columns of the Herald with matter of a far different character.

For the Herald of Freedom.

Oppress'd humanity no chains will spurn,
And meanest slaves upon their tyrants turn."

It is often said that the anti-slavery movement can not break the emancipation of the slave. If the wide diffusion of truth and correct principles tends to find men more closely to error and falsehood, the assertion may be correct. Not believing it. The powerful exertions of the friends of humanity in Great Britain and in this country are constantly weakening the slave-holding powers; and we trust, that the day is not far distant, when we shall follow the glorious example of the West India liberation. Even among our southern slave owners, not a few are now under the strong conviction of the sinfulness of the system. Books to name to convince large majorities of the people of the free States, that the system ought to be abolished, and its total overthrow would soon follow. While we advocate it, the southern conscience will rest satisfied.

In this time of light and of liberty, we all know, that it is wrong to convert a human being, upon whom God has impressed his image, into a thing, into goods and chattels to be sold, like beasts, in the market,—we know that slavery [illegible] who have, like ourselves, immortal souls, mere brutes—that it deprives them of the means of knowledge, and gives them the basest passions. Did our enlightened freemen justify such a system, it would afford evidence of their own degradation—that they are lost to the moral sense, and have abjured the sublime precepts of the Christian religion. We cast no such stigma upon the New-England character. We believe that to present to them a full view of slavery, as it is, is all that is requisite to ensure their united efforts for its overthrow. But many are struck with horror at the idea of immediate emancipation. Having not many years since associated bloody massacre with immediate emancipation, we are slow to condemn others for holding a similar error. We are now fully convinced that the motives are taken away by liberation, and that the heart of the degraded slave, in view of the removal of his galling chains, would be filled with joy and gratitude, instead of cruelty and revenge. The West India experiment supports this remark. The slave holder himself, could reason do its work, would have a sufficient motive, founded in self interest, to emancipate. For free-labor would produce double the products of slave labor. The payment of wages is the only stimulus, except the lash of the whip, for the exertions of the day laborer.

"Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away."

The motives for labor in a negro are precisely the same as in a white man. Who believes that the latter would work, except by compulsion, knowing that he could receive no wages? When the South shall be convinced, that by free-labor, their products would be doubled—and that sleep would not be disturbed through fear of massacre, they would feel better disposed to comply with the precepts of justice, humanity, and our holy religion. Self interest, and sacred duty are on the same side in this great question. We might support this position by facts as well as arguments. But its truth is maintained by comparing the quantum of products from an equal number of free laborers of the South, with that of an equal number of slaves of the South. When we consider that slavery can find no justification—that it is opposed to the immutable principles of justice, and the laws of God—that the advance of society, the progress of knowledge and liberal principles, and the literature of the world are combining to bring it to an end, we cannot believe that the efforts of abolitionists will be unavailing. We regret, that there are some dissensions in respect to minor points, among abolitionists. But these cannot affect the great cause, but in the end, may be over-ruled for good. A diversity of views may be expected among abolitionists, as well as other men—it may produce greater excitement, and a more general attention to the subject. A close and thorough examination into "the sublime merits of slavery," is all that is requisite to call forth the united voice of the free States against it. This State long since abolished slavery—its almost unanimous voice was expressed against it in meetings in all parts of the State, as well as through our Representatives in Congress, in '19 and '20, upon the Missouri question—our citizens generally hold that all men are equitled by the law of Nature and of Nature's God, to equal rights and privileges—and we know of nothing, within the last twenty years, that was calculated to produce a radical change for the worse, in public opinion upon this momentous subject. Still, there is too much indifference, and more light is wanted. The cruelties and enormities of slavery are not there fully understood. We have heard of slavery elsewhere—but never on the face of the whole earth was there ever before a system so oppressive and barbarous as that in our Southern States. We of the North, cannot excuse ourselves by saying we have nothing to do with it. We have something to do with it. If we did not tolerate it, it would fall. The whole nation is guilty of the sin; and should it not be renounced, we may expect that we as a nation, may experience the judgments of offended Heaven.

In another point of view, we, of the North, are deeply interested. It is all in vain for us to expect long to preserve our precious liberties, should we supinely suffer such laws and doctrines as are adopted to a state of slavery to be constantly making inroads upon our free institutions. A Slave Republic cannot long exist. Again, the ratio of increase of the slave population is greater than that of the free white. In process of time, the physical power would be in the hands of the oppressed, as predicted by Mr. Jefferson. Already in S. Carolina the slaves outnumber their oppressors as two to one. Even the slave-holder begins to feel an alarm, lest the wheel of fortune may soon turn. In such a revolution who should receive our sympathies, the oppressor, or the oppressed? On which side would be the attributes of the Almighty?

How ignorant and foolish are men, whose reasoning is predicated upon the mere color of the skin; a mode of reasoning, which is instantly changed, when our white men are captive slaves upon the coast of Africa. Is the philosophy of the age yet insufficient to establish the doctrine, that the solar light, with a few other adventitious circumstances, gives the color to the skin? But were it otherwise, whence is authority derived for conferring upon the fairest complexions the largest share of rights and privileges? On the other hand, why are the beautiful Circassians and Georgians, in whose complexions the lily is combined with rose, sold in countless numbers, into slavery? Fallacious arguments may be multiplied to any extent; but after all, the truth is immoveably fixed, that the origin and only supporter of slavery is unjust, physical power.

FRANKLIN.

Gems from the N. H. Patriot and the Christian Panoply.

HUNTING A NEGRO.—Our village was thrown into confusion on Thursday last by the escape and subsequent capture of a runaway slave.—Not however by those "Monsters in human form," Slave-holders"—nor yet "Pro Slavery Northerners," but by veritable Abolitionists;—who are as they term themselves, the "*exclusive* friends of the *poor down trodden* slave." The slave has been harbored or rather *confined* here for a few days past, and is supposed to be one of the gang, recently landed in the vicinity of Newburyport, and who are now prowling about the woods there, greatly to the terror of the female portion of the community. If we may believe the Abolitionists, he is to be sent on towards Canada, as soon as sufficient money and clothing can be furnished for the purpose.—Meantime, if the assertions of our most respectable citizens are worth any thing, he is forced to submit to a drudgery here, compared with which the tyranny under which he suffered beyond the Potomac, is not a circumstance. The conduct of the slave confirms this. *Actions* speaks louder than *words*.

On the above mentioned day, he escaped from "durance vile," and taking the road over the Free Bridge, run for the woods, was pursued, captured and placed in a wagon to be brought back. *The ways of Providence are inscrutable.*—When within one mile of the village the carriage was upset, one of the men severely injured,—the horse came dashing at full speed into the village with the fore wheels of the waggon, and the slave again took to his heels. He fled with the speed of the frightened deer, but with far less discretion. He made tracks across the interval towards the village, pursued by all the men and boys who could be induced to join in the chase; was re-captured, collared by the Editor of the Herald of Freedom, and dragged through the Streets to the Abolition Head-Quarters, where it is said he was tied up in a barn with a rope. Poor devil, he may feelingly exclaim "save me from my friends." It is said he wishes to get back to his master, realizing probably for the first time the *truth* of the couplet:

"'Tis better far to bear the ills we feel
Than fly to others that we know not of."

His cavers are that class of Abolitionists, yeleped Non Resistants, Non Government, &c. &c. The *consistency* of their course, to say nothing of the *right* thus to harbor a man contrary to the laws of the land, or to detain him against his own wishes, passeth our comprehension.—"But there are many things in heaven and earth not dreamed of in our Philosophy."—*N. H. Patriot.*

By E. B. Barnes. *Political Abolitionism.*

'A bug that hell has worked for—a born slave
To an o'ercoming—evil—venomous, vile,
Snake like, that hugs the bush and bites the heel."
N. H. Patriot.

A negro, said to be a slave, has been in town for a few days past. He attempted several times to run away from his abolition friends, but was detained forcibly. He was not handled as carefully as glass; he has finally taken French leave of Dr. Harper, to whose care he was entrusted. He probably begins to think there are masters here, as well as at the South. —*Christian Panoply.*

A LIST AND THE PRICES OF BOOKS FOR SALE AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY DEPOSITORY, CONCORD.

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For the benefit of all concerned, there will be no deviation from the above prices. Persons from a distance can then as well *send* for books as come themselves. Should any book or books be ordered which are not on hand, they will be procured, if possible, without delay. The Depository is the property of the State Society, and all the avails will go to replenish its treasury. Orders may be directed (postage paid) to Parker Pillsbury, General Agent of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society.

Concord, June 27th, 1840.

THE GENUINE HYGEIAN
Come again!

THE subscriber, by the appointment of E. W. Avery, of Plymouth, General Agent for the State of New Hampshire is agent for the sale of the Vegetable Universal Medicines of the British College of Health, for Concord and vicinity, and he is now the only individual in the County of Merrimack, of whom the Genuine Hygeian can be obtained. The diseased that for two or three years past have made use of Pills hawked about the country by Horatio Shepheard Moat and his agents, purporting to be the Medicines of the British College of Health, are aware that those Medicines are not what they profess; and fall far short of the efficacy of the Medicines formerly sold by Moat and his agents. This is owing to the fact that Moat instead of selling the Medicines of the British College, of which he was formerly agent, has been for several years selling a Medicine of his own manufacture; this coming to the knowledge of the College, and that health may be brought within the reach of the afflicted in the United States, they have dismissed Moat from their agency, and appointed in his stead Dr. George Taylor, of New York, of whom and his agents may once more be obtained the genuine MORISON'S PILLS.

The Hygeian Medicines cure all diseases that admit of cure, because all diseases have one origin—IMPURITY OF THE BLOOD; and these Medicines are not only the most certain and efficacious of all purifiers of the blood—but they leave the stomach in healthful action to make GOOD BLOOD—which is HEALTH.

The subscriber's office for the sale of these Medicines is one door south of the Concord Bank, and directly opposite the Phenix Hotel.

JOHN R. FRENCH.
Concord, June 23, 1840. 18

Book Bindery.

JOHN K. CLOUGH having taken the room formerly occupied by Dow & Farnum, over the Book-Store of John F. Brown, will execute all orders in his line, with neatness and dispatch.

Newspapers, Pamphlets, and Old Books, bound in handsome style, at reasonable prices.

Concord, May 29, 1840. 15—tf

To Parents.

It is stated by eminent medical writers that at least one third of the children in the United States die from teething, and diseases caused thereby. Read the following:

A REAL BLESSING TO MOTHERS.
Dr. W. Evans' celebrated Soothing Syrup for Children cutting their teeth.

This infallible remedy has preserved hundreds of children when thought past recovery from convulsions. As soon as the syrup is rubbed on the gums, the child will recover. This preparation is so innocent, so efficacious, and so pleasant that no child will refuse to let its gums be rubbed with it. When infants are at the age of four months, though there is no appearance of teeth, one bottle of Syrup should be used on the gums to open the pores. Parents never should be without the Syrup in the nursery where there are young children; for if a child wakes in the night with a pain in the gums, the syrup immediately gives ease by opening the pores and healing the gums thereby preventing Convulsions, Fevers, &c.

The above invaluable medicine, together with Dr. Wm. Evans' Camomile and Aperient Pills, are sold wholesale at 100 Chatham, st. New York, and by

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Dec. 21, 1839. 43 1y.

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FOR CONSUMPTION, COUGHS, COLDS, Nervous diseases, liver complaint, dyspepsia, bilious diseases, piles, ulcers, female weakness, and all cases of hypochondriacism, low spirits, palpitation of the heart, nervous irritability, nervous weakness, fluor albus, seminal weakness, indigestion, loss of appetite, heartburn, general debility, bodily weakness, chlorosis, or green sickness, flatulency, hysterics, headaches, hiccup, sea sickness, night mare, rheumatism, asthma, tic douloreaux, cramp, spasmodic affection, and those who are victims to that most excruciating disorder, Gout, will find relief from their suffering, by a course of Dr. Evan's medicine.

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In the midst of a general, and in many instances, not unfounded prejudice against many of the medical remedies of the day, DR. WM. EVANS' PILLS have the enviable distinction of an universal approbation. They are perhaps the only medicine publicly advertised that has the full and unreserved testimony of medical men in its favor, if not the only one which gives full satisfaction to its purchasers. Dr. Wm. Evans has the satisfaction of knowing that his CAMOMILE OR TONIC PILLS are not only regularly recommended and prescribed by the most experienced physicians in their daily practice, but also, taken by those gentlemen themselves, whenever they feel symptoms of those diseases in which they well know them to be efficacious. He knows this to be generally the case in New York, Philadelphia, Albany, Boston, and other large cities in which they have an extensive sale. That they should thus compel professional prejudice and interested opposition, and secure the agency of the most eminent and best informed physicians in the country to render them useful to all classes, can only be fairly ascribed to their undeniable and pre-eminent virtues.

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